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before dinner. He has given enough of his time and powers to occasional efforts ; let him devote the prime of his manhood to some theme, to which he may address himself with the full strength of his mind, and bestow upon us a work, which shall be, in the language of Thucydides, a *κτῆμά τε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν*. For his own sake, and for his country's sake too, we hope that this suggestion, made in the spirit of respectful deference, may find favor with him.

ART. IX. — *History of the Reformation in Italy.* By T. MACRIE, D. D. Edinburgh. 1827.*

THE history of the Reformation is naturally divided into several distinct branches, which vary in interest and in importance according to the literary, or religious, or political influence subsequently exercised by the nations among which they extended. While the pious ardor of Luther found support in the political interests of a portion of Germany, the free principles of Swiss government favored the reception and extension of the doctrines of Zuinglius. And when the brutal passions of Henry were affording an opening for the introduction of Protestantism into England, the seeds of religious liberty were, in despite of royal persecution, taking root throughout the whole of France. Nor was the spirit of reform confined to those nations, among which its success has proved permanent ; but in Spain, where the supremacy of Catholicism might have seemed least likely to be disturbed, and in Italy itself, the seat and strong hold of papal power, the doctrines of Protestantism spread for a while with sure and rapid progression, and long withstood the combined attacks of secular and inquisitorial violence. In each of these countries the rise of the new opinions was marked with all the peculiarities of national character ; and even long after the great dispute had been irrevocably decided, the political movements of each continued to be more

* Besides the work of Macrie, we have availed ourselves of the important details, which have been given by Botta with that sincerity and independence which distinguish all the productions of his pen, and some of the most important of which had escaped the attention of Macrie.

or less influenced by the feeling developed during their respective struggles for reform.

But notwithstanding the extent and variety of this subject, and the rich harvest which it affords of all the lessons which render the study of history important, one of the most interesting portions of it has been strangely neglected, and its real character alternately exposed to the satires of ignorance and the misrepresentations of calumny. The attention of most writers, and even of those from whom we derive the clearest and justest views of this epoch, has been confined to those nations in which the first efforts at reform were followed by a full and permanent religious independence; while the fate of others, whose struggles in the same cause were pursued with equal devotion, and attended with an equal degree of intellectual developement, has been passed over in silence. So true is this, that a distinguished writer of the last century hesitated not to assert, that the Italians, devoted to intrigue and pleasure, had no part in the trials of the Reformation; and this too of a period, in which hundreds were wearing out an agonized existence in the dungeons of the Inquisition, and the snows of the Alps were stained with the tracks of multitudes of others, who blessed an exile that secured them from torture and the stake.*

The blame of these errors, however, does not fall exclusively upon those, who traced the history of this dreadful period. The historian must be guided by his materials, and his search of these is for the most part directed by the views of writers contemporary with the events that he attempts to describe. Facts, therefore, whose importance was not understood by those who witnessed them, are long hidden from posterity by the short-sightedness which first represented them under a false point of view, and the subsequent negligence which failed to place them in a truer light while their proximity rendered the undertaking comparatively easy. But when in the course of time the accomplishment of some great change, or the developement of some important principle, calls the attention of the philosopher to the causes by which it was produced, and the circumstances under which it originated, it

* This is not exaggeration; the dungeon of the Inquisition in Rome overflowed to such a degree, as to require the erection of new prisons, and in Locarno upwards of two hundred persons of both sexes and all ages were compelled to abandon their homes and cross the Alps for shelter.

becomes necessary to follow back the current of history with slow and cautious steps, and unite the distant occurrences and apparently trifling manifestations of the character of different periods, which alone can lead us to the real source. A vast field is thus opened not only for research, but for disputation; systems are formed; schools are established; and the mind which was in the onset animated by the desire of establishing the truth, is, in the end, too often heated by the passion of acrimonious controversy.

But it was not by ordinary causes alone, that some portions of the history of the Reformation were rendered obscure. Various concurring events exerted a strong influence, not only upon the Reformation itself, but upon the materials which contained its history. Ecclesiastical history is less a narrative of actions than a record of opinions. Its revolutions are changes in doctrine and creed, accompanied by a greater or less approach to purity of manners, in exact proportion to the influence of the true spirit of Christianity. But it comprises few of those great occurrences, which excite attention by their direct action upon the physical or political condition of the human race; and its progress can only be traced by the writings of those who took part in the corruption or reform of each epoch. During the course of the Reformation, the attacks of the Catholic Church were directed no less against the writings than the persons of the reformers; and the flames, which could not always be extended to the unhappy object of persecution, were fed with the volumes from which his heresy had emanated, or to which his forbidden researches had given rise. Thus while the progress of Reformation was effectually checked, the records of its existence were destroyed; and the scanty materials for history which escaped this war of extermination, were scattered, like their authors, throughout distant parts of Europe, and often lost by a neglect no less fatal than persecution itself.* The history of the progress of the Reformation, in those countries where the Catholic Church still retains its supremacy, can only be formed by a long and minute study of scattered documents, differing widely both in

* To these causes must be added the jealousy, with which many precious documents are still withheld from the public eye by their suspicious guardians; and we have before us at this moment additional proofs of the ridiculous timidity, which endeavours to conceal from view what can at the utmost be considered as but an additional confirmation of facts irrefragably established.

character and in form, and often less calculated to lead to clear and satisfactory conclusions, than to bewilder by the obscurities and perplexities with which they abound. Directing our attention more particularly to Italy, we find that the same causes which led to the suppression of the Reformation, and of the works by which it was recorded, continued to act, although in various degrees, upon the native historians, and either mislead their judgment or check their pens whenever they approach this delicate part of their subject. Allusions, sketches, and insulated facts are scattered through their works ; the progress of the reform is acknowledged with more or less hesitation ; but the independent rank which it deserved in the annals of Italy, has never been fully accorded it by the Catholic, nor till lately claimed by Protestant historians. The conduct of the former is easily accounted for ; but it is impossible to refrain from astonishment at the neglect of the latter. They were bound by every species of motive to claim for their Protestant brethren of Italy, the respect and the commiseration of the rest of the world. They were bound by the principles of interest, which forbade them to let pass so strong a proof of their favorite assertion, that their cause was universal and universally felt. They were bound by the principle of morality which bids us judge, as far as we can, by motives and efforts, not by actions and appearances alone. They were bound by the principle of true philosophy, which teaches us that almost as much is to be learnt by studying the causes that have prevented, as those that have secured success.

But, notwithstanding the motives, which might have been supposed sufficiently powerful to attract toward this important subject a share, at least, of that attention, which has been assiduously devoted to inquiries of far less general interest ; it was not until towards the middle of the last century, that it began to be studied upon a scale somewhat better suited to its real importance. The first circumstance (at least as nearly as we have been able to ascertain) which excited the general attention of the students of ecclesiastical history to the progress made by the Lutheran Reformation in Italy, was the publication of the documents relative to ecclesiastical and literary history collected by the learned Schelhorn, near the middle of the last century. The controversy which followed this publication not only served to awaken the curiosity of the historical inquirer, with regard to this subject, but wrested from

the defenders of the Catholic cause much curious and precious information relative to the contested points. The *Specimen Italiæ Reformatae* of Gerdes contained a still more extensive collection of facts, and was the first effectual step towards a complete history. Many facts and circumstances, which had, till then, been passed over in silence by those who undertook to treat the general history of Italy, were from that time necessarily made the subjects of at least passing remark ; and the difficulties, which had encumbered this field, were thus gradually lessened or removed. At last after the interval of half a century from the appearance of the work of Gerdes, Macrie, whose name stands at the head of our paper, gave to the world in one body, a full and laborious history of the rise, the progress, and the fall of the "Protestant Reformation in Italy."

Without entering into a detailed examination of this work, it will be sufficient to observe, that while we respect the zeal with which Macrie engaged in this difficult undertaking, and the patient courage and unwearied industry with which he has examined the innumerable and scattered documents which form his materials, we feel deeply his deficiencies in that enlarged and candid philosophy, without which no one can fulfil the part of a liberal and eloquent historian. In many places the tone of his work would be more becoming to a martyrology than to a dignified history ; and, as often happens, his skepticism with regard to the testimony of Catholic writers, is more than counterbalanced by the credulity with which he receives the statements of their adversaries. Some facts of a remarkable character seem to have wholly escaped his attention, and the sympathy which we would gladly grant to others, is checked by the tone in which he demands it. We are willing to acknowledge that truth, abstractly considered, admits not of division ; but it is a sad though common mistake to suppose, that all the members, or even the majority of one party, are guilty of hypocrisy and deceit, because the other is in the right. These defects, however, for the most part do not extend beyond the general tone of the work ; and though they detract greatly from its interest, and require a great degree of caution in the reader, it must still be considered a learned and instructive history of the great events which it records.

We confess that we feel no ordinary interest in this history. We have studied it not as an insulated fact, but as a continuation of the spirit of that period, when Italy, though torn with

discord, was free from the stranger, and was cherishing, in the turbulent existence of her republics, those seeds of freedom and political wisdom, which she, and she alone, first planted in Europe. It has been for us a connecting link with the boldness and daring of her first glorious dawn of literature; and as we look around upon the apparently torpid inhabitants of her lovely fields, we see the same spirit strengthened by long patience, chastened by long suffering, nerved and formed for action by the long and bitter experience of four centuries of foreign subjection, ready to arise with the irresistible energy of union and patriotic devotion, and realize the provident design with which nature

“dell' Alpi schermo
Pose fra lor e la tedesca rabbia.”

We trust that we have not been misled by our own interest in this subject, in supposing that a brief sketch of this remarkable portion of Italian history would prove acceptable to our readers.

The origin of the Reformation in Italy extends far beyond the proper limits of modern history.* The valleys of Piedmont were occupied from time immemorial by the Waldenses, whose simple worship and purity of manners were a constant reproach to the pride and pretensions of the church. It was from hence, if the supposition of some modern writers be correct, that the first advocates of reform derived their doctrines; and while other nations were struck with wonder and conviction at the superior purity of these, they had long been familiar to the simple inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys.† But however this question may be decided, it cannot be denied that the pretensions of the Church of Rome nowhere encountered a more bitter opposition than within the limits of Italy, and that also at a period when the other nations of Christendom were bowed in implicit submission to its power. The independence of the bishopric of Milan was long maintained in open violation of the doctrines of Rome, and the decrees of Hildebrand were found inefficient until supported by

* Botta, *Storia d' Italia*. Vol. I. p. 368, et seq.

† “Serbavano e tuttavolta serbano i Valdesi insin dai primi secoli della chiesa opinioni conformi a quelle che ora turbavano il mondo. Giovanni Huss e Viclefeo già le avevano abbracciate; Lutero stesso non fece altro che ripetere quello che i Valdesi già da molti secoli indietro pubblicavano.” — *Ibid.*

the arms of Estimbold. But although no physical opposition could be formed, of sufficient power to resist the forces which the Popes of that age could bring to their assistance, yet no efforts could effectually check the growth of that spirit which prepared the way for the reception of the Reformation, and, under more favorable circumstances, might have accomplished it. When the different churches of Italy had been united by art or by force under the more immediate dominion of the Roman see, the vices and arrogance of the latter were assailed by weapons of another description, and the wounds which it received, though less apparent in the commencement of the struggle, continued to wear upon the debilitated system until the fatal blow was given by the arms of Luther. These adversaries were the Troubadours and the early poets of Italy ; a class whose enmity is the more to be dreaded, as its attacks are unrestrained by the usual checks of time and of place. The volume of controversy may be forgotten although supported by the soundest reasoning, but the song of the satirist continues to circle in constantly extending bounds, until the spirit that animates it has become familiar to every mind.

The first place in point of time belongs to the Troubadours, and the manner in which their poems were composed and made public must have contributed greatly to the extension and effect of their satires. With the song of love and hymn of triumph, were mingled reproaches against the luxury and power of Rome, and the same lyre that responded to the description of female loveliness, kept time to the details of priestly corruption. However elevated the notes of triumph, however soft and winning the strain of love, the verse of the Troubadour seems to flow with greater warmth and redoubled energy, when the vices of the church become his theme. "If God," says Raimond de Castlenau, whose verses we must beg leave to give in nearly literal prose, "if God saves those whose sole merits consist in loving good living and handsome women, if Friars, the black, the white, and Templars and Hospitlars win the joys of Paradise, great fools, in sooth, were St. Peter and St. Andrew, who suffered so much for what these win so easily."*

No less bitter was the language of the great father of Italian poetry. Without adopting the theory of Rossetti, the opinion

* Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies orig. des Troubadours*, Tom. IV. p. 383.

in which the Roman court was held by Dante, is clearly apparent even to the most superficial reader of his great poem.* Not contented with placing some of the highest dignitaries of the church among the hopeless wretches of his *Inferno*, he goes beyond the simple bounds of satire, and, mingling theological interpretation with the fictions of verse, describes Rome as the predicted Babylon of the Apocalypse.† This doctrine, indeed, so fondly adopted by all Protestants, is said to have been anterior even to the age of Dante, and to have been supported in the eleventh century by extensive comparison and direct application. But this circumstance becomes still more striking, when the severe and inflexible spirit of Dante is found reflected in the verses of the mild and pious Petrarca. Member of the ecclesiastical body, intimate and favored resident of the Papal court, bound by the ties of interest and gratitude to some of the most distinguished prelates of the age, the vices and corruptions of the church were laid open to his observant eye without the slightest hesitation or veil. The effect of this scene upon his mind was deep and lasting. Ambition, although more than once awakened, friendship, though all-powerful over him in every other situation, even love itself, whose control over his whole life is so closely connected with every portion of his history, were unable to bind him to a spot, where he saw the crime of religious usurpation heightened by the open abandonment of every moral virtue. From his retreat in the valley of Vaucluse, his revered

* This is, as far as we know, the most recent theory upon the plan proposed to himself by Dante in the composition of the "*Divina Commedia*." The ingenious commentator supposes Dante to speak, not of the kingdom of the dead, but of the living; that by a bold but complex allegory he has represented the Emperor in the Deity, the Pope in Lucifer; that life signifies the Ghibelline faction, and death the Gueff. The Emperor, chief of the Ghibellines, is the protector of Italian liberty, and the Pope, head of the Gueffs, its oppressor. A part, however, has been evidently borrowed from other writers.

† The nineteenth canto of the "*Inferno*" contains a very striking illustration of Dante's manner of interpreting some parts of Scripture, as well as of the light in which he viewed the Roman Church. He makes a clear distinction between the church of Christ and the vices of his "*vicars upon the earth*," and seems to have wished for the species of reform which has been so ardently desired by many excellent Catholics of different times. For he would seem to seek rather to limit and reduce the Papal power, than subvert it. And while he points out some Pontiffs as those "*di cui s' accorse 'l Vangelista*," yet here and elsewhere he expresses his "*riverezia delle somme chiave*."

and dreaded voice was raised against the corruptions of the "impious Babylon." The first of his sonnets in which his views of the Roman church are clearly recorded, commences thus ;

"From impious Babylon, from whence all shame
Hath fled, and every good is gone,
Mother of errors, dwelling-place of grief,
I 've fled this fragile being to prolong."

Still stronger are the 105th, beginning ;

"May flames from heaven upon thy tresses fall !"

and the 106th, which contains a vehement prophecy of the fate of the offending city ;

"Her idols on the ground shall scattered be,
And her proud towers."

But of all the Italian poems directed against the church of Rome, the following sonnet, the 107th of Petrarca's *Canzoniere*, is the most powerful that we know of.

"Fontana di dolore, albergo d' ira,
Scola d' errori, e tempio d' eresìa,
Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria ;
Per cui tanto si piagne e si sospira :
O fucina d' inganni, o prigion dira ;
Ove 'l ben more, e 'l mal si nutre, e cria ;
Di vivi inferno ; un gran miracol fia,
Se Cristo teco al fine non s' adira.
Fondata in casta ed umil povertate,
Contra tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,
Putta sfacciata ; e dov' hai posto spene ?
Negli adulteri tuoi, nelle mal nate
Ricchezze tante ? or Constantin non torna ;
Ma tolga il mondo tristo, che 'l sostiene."

"Fountain of sorrow, dwelling-place of ire,
Temple of heresy, of error school,
Once Rome, now Babylon the false.

* * * *

O forge of treachery, O prison dire,
 Death-place of virtue, nurse of every ill,
 Hell of the living, great the miracle,
 If Christ rouse not at length his tardy ire.
 Founded in chaste and humble poverty,
 Thy very founders have become thy scorn,
 Unblushing wretch! what hope remains for thee?
 In thy adulteries, riches evil born?
 Think not another Constantine to see!
 But on the world that bears them may thy deeds return."

The sentiments thus uttered with the warmth of verse are confirmed by the energy with which he inveighs against the same vices, in his familiar correspondence;* and the supposition which might otherwise have arisen, that they were but the exaggerations of poetry, is thus fully and satisfactorily contradicted. To these illustrious names others might be added of almost equal weight, were any other testimony required, to show that the clear minds of the Italians were, as in every thing else, foremost in discovering and laying bare the vices and corruptions of the church.

Neither are there wanting proofs of another and perhaps even stronger kind, to show how the pretensions of the Holy See were estimated by those who, from their vicinity to Rome, were most exposed to its aggressions. The history of Italy abounds with instances of a bold and independent conduct towards the church, and a resolute contempt of its censures, when employed in merely political contests.† Nor were these, like the writings of which we have been speaking, the manifestations of the opinions of a few individuals, whose

* "Nunc me occidentalis Babylon habet, qua nihil infirmius sol videt. In nomine Jesu, sed in operibus Belial.—Oramus flentes, ne tradas bestiis animas confidentes tibi. Nos zelo domus tuæ, Christe Jesu, jam satis evecti sumus."—*Epistolarum sine Titulo Liber*. Ed. Basileæ, passim.

† One instance will suffice. Machiavelli thus describes a war against the Pope in the fourteenth century. "Questa guerra dall'ambizione del legato incominciata fu dallo sdegno de' Fiorentini seguita.—Durò la guerra tre anni, nè prima ebbe, che con la morte del pontefice, termine; e fu con tanta virtù e tanta soddisfazione dell'universale amministrata, che agli Otto ogni anno fu prorogato il magistrato, ed erano chiamati Santi ancorachè eglino avessero stimato poco le censure, e le chiese de' loro beni spogliate, e forzato il clero a celebrare gli uffizii: tanto quelli cittadini stimavano allora più la patria che l'anima; e dimostrarono alla Chiesa che come prima suoi amici l'avevano difesa, suoi nemici la potevano affliggere."—*Storie Fior.* Lib. III. p. 181, ed. di Padova, 1832.

minds had been raised by superior cultivation above the standard of their age. They were the unanimous actions of whole communities. Old and young, the ignorant and the learned, the aspiring statesman, who might be supposed willing to sacrifice his religious belief to the interests of his ambition, and the humble citizen, who only sought to pursue in tranquillity the labors of his trade, all united in an unwavering resistance against the threats of ecclesiastical censure, when carried beyond the legitimate bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Without drawing a subtile distinction between the temporal and the spiritual authority of the Pope, the Italians often resisted the encroachments of the former, while they acknowledged in appearance the claims of the latter. But the constant collision between these interests, could not but diminish the veneration, which, during the most calamitous times of Italian history, was actually felt for the religious character of the Pontiffs; and the period in which Rome was apparently the religious sovereign of Europe, was also that in which it felt, most sensibly, the inconveniences arising from the conflicting elements that composed its power. Rome may thank the divisions of Italy, rather than her own skill, for the preservation of her political dominion; and it is a curious subject of reflection, that the city, which, with the power of her arms, formed, for the first and only time, one united and independent nation of Italy, has, when the doctrines of a mild and peaceful religion have been substituted for the maxims of a rigid policy and the dominion of the sword, contributed more than any other cause, or than all other causes taken together, to keep up the spirit of discord and local animosity, which seems almost to defy every effort employed for its removal.

It would evidently carry us beyond the limits of a single article, were we to attempt to trace with accuracy the various steps, by which the way was opened for the reception of the Protestant doctrines in Italy. The ground may be considered as having been prepared, long before its appearance attracted the attention of history; and in reading the chronicles of the different republics, or the lives of their distinguished citizens, we meet, at every step, the most striking proofs of the existence of an anti-Roman if not of an anti-Catholic spirit, from the earliest periods of its modern history. We shall briefly mention a few of the most remarkable steps of its progress towards a more perfect developement.

No truth has been more strikingly confirmed by modern history, than that the progress of intellectual freedom is inevitable, however mighty the power by which it is opposed. The foresight of tyranny and the terrors of superstition have been employed against it, and in vain. It has often yielded in appearance, while secretly gaining strength for the contest ; and even the most cunning and expert of its opponents, have been repeatedly deceived by the difficulty of distinguishing among the various causes in action around them, those which were calculated to facilitate, from those which were adapted to check its career.

The ardor with which the Italians engaged in the study of classic literature at the first revival of letters, was surely unconnected with any views of theological reform. But the action of polite pursuits upon the spirit of a nation, which has always been distinguished for energy and acuteness of intellect, prepared the way for the reception of religious as well as intellectual freedom. The subtle disputes which arose concerning the interpretation of Grecian philosophy, while they fomented the passion, extended also the field of controversy. But, when the attention of those, who had been formed in this school, became directed to the dogmas and doctrines of the church, their discoveries were not always accompanied by a sincere wish for the correction of abuses. Many of the bright intellects of that age, were, like Erasmus, willing to see, but unwilling to expose themselves to the penalties which follow the communication of forbidden knowledge. With others, the labors which should have led to a candid acknowledgment of the truth, terminated in a full though unacknowledged skepticism. It is well known, that, at the epoch of the Reformation in Germany, not only the universities, but the churches of Italy were filled with men, whose shining talents and profound learning had not proved sufficient to preserve them from infidelity.

Yet from sources like these, the stream of reform was to rise. The attention, which, at first, had been confined to profane literature, was gradually extended to the study of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects. An acquaintance with these, as with the Latin and Greek, became an object of literary ambition. The refinement which had been introduced into the study of Pagan authors, was then directed to the explanation of the sacred. Manuscripts were collected and collated.

Editions of different portions of the Scriptures were from time to time prepared in the various presses of Italy. Doubts were suggested concerning the correctness of the authorized versions. While correcting the barbarisms of language, the pen was inadvertently carried to the errors of interpretation. These studies were encouraged, not only by the learned and the patrons of learning, but received new vigor from the approbation of the church itself.

Nor was this ardor confined to the learned languages. Italian versions of the New Testament had long circulated among those, who, from a love of the truths of Scripture, or a partiality for their native language, were disposed to read them. At first, the productions of men who ventured not to depart from the readings of the Vulgate, they contributed but little to the discovery or correction of errors. Still, the fact, that the Scripture existed in the vulgar idiom, and the perusal of it was not forbidden by the guardians of the Roman dogma, facilitated the introduction of exacter translations, and gave a plausible coloring to the arguments of those by whom they were made. The science which had been so successfully directed to the original texts, was, in the sequel, zealously applied to the correction of the Italian translations; and the number of the laborers who engaged in this field during the last half of the fifteenth and the first of the sixteenth centuries, prove not only the zeal of the teacher, but the ardor with which his lessons were received.

Literary curiosity, once excited, soon breaks through all restraint, and the mind which would have been the first to shrink back in the beginning of the research, is often the most ardent in the prosecution of it, when its confidence has been once shaken in its old convictions, and it is then hurried on by that necessity for belief, which forms the very basis of our intellectual nature. It cannot go calmly back to the views, which have once proved insufficient to satisfy its longings. It cannot throw off that sense of responsibility, which seems to acquire new force from every candid exertion of reason. And as, one by one, its early convictions fall from around it, it still moves on, more ardent than ever for something that it can believe, trust, cling to, in the cold and boundless space that expands to its view.

Thus, the studies which had been so warmly engaged in, in Italy, received a new impulse from the breaking out of the

Reformation in Germany. Many Italians began to frequent the universities of that country, where the doctrines of reform were taught with all the fervor which arises from newly awakened conviction, and the boldness which accompanies security from persecution. The new views of theology usurped, for many, the place of every other pursuit, and the minds of the students became inflamed with the same zeal that animated their masters. Nor was the knowledge of these doctrines confined to those who imbibed them in the schools of Germany. The works of Luther, and Melancthon, and Zuinglius were circulated, with greater precautions, it is true, but with nearly the same success which had attended them beyond the Alps. Studied in the convents, in the schools, in Rome itself, they were often read and applauded by those, who, when they became aware of their real import, directed against them the attacks of the bitterest persecution. From the study of the writings of the Reformers, the transition to a correspondence with the writers themselves was both easy and natural. Some sought them out as men of great learning ; others, as teachers of the true principles of theology. Thus, a new and broad path was opened for the introduction of the Reformation.

While the doctrines of Luther were thus gaining ground within the hallowed domains of the Church, the attention of the court of Rome, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of many of its devoted followers, had hardly been excited by the rapid progress of the danger that threatened it. And, when, at length, arousing from its lethargy, it began to examine the means and forces of its adversary, and seek out the measures best adapted to check or to crush them, its first steps were made with a rashness and precipitation, which can be discovered in no previous epoch of its annals. Political causes, of unprecedented weight, then came to unite their influence against the will of the Pontiff, and paralyse his efforts. The greater part of Italy was overrun by the Imperial troops. Rome was taken by assault, and the Pope was compelled to fly from the impotent thunders of the Vatican, to the narrow fortress of St. Angelo. An army, composed in a great measure of Protestants, was thus triumphant within the walls of the capital of Catholicism ; and the praises of Luther and of Melancthon resounded, where, for ages, had been celebrated the proudest ceremonies of the Church. The arms of the Emperor were

at length withdrawn, and Rome once more returned to the yoke of her ancient sovereigns ; but years of watchful tyranny could alone destroy the seeds, which had spread and taken root in the compass of a few short months.

While the power of the Pope was thus shaken by the arms of an Emperor, who pretended to be the most ardent defender of the Catholic faith, the eyes of all Christendom were fixed upon Rome with doubt and amaze. It seemed as if the fatal hour of that ancient and dreaded monarchy had come. The voice of reproach and reclamation, so long neglected, had at length been heard ; and the throne, from which so many bold decrees, so many daring enterprises, so many dreaded anathemas had proceeded, seemed shaken from its foundations. Some rejoiced in the prospect of approaching freedom ; some trembled at the thought of the rich sources of gain which were to be for ever closed. Princes gazed with varying sensations of hope and fear, according to the fluctuations of their individual interests ; the people, with joy or horror, as they recognised the hand of an avenging Providence, or feared that the face of the Almighty had been turned from them for ever. “ Whence,” cried the Bishop of Lipari, struck with a conviction, that not even the presence of the Pope and Cardinals could repress, “ whence come these ills ? Why are we subjected to so many misfortunes ? It is for the corruption of the human race ; it is, because we are no longer the citizens of Rome the holy, but of Babylon, the city of wickedness. The words of Isaiah have been fulfilled, ‘ How has the faithful become a wanton ! ’ ”

In the mean while, the progress of reform, no longer restrained by the opposition of the Roman Church, increased in extension and rapidity in every part of Italy ; and the minds of many began to yield, whom a sincere attachment to Catholicism had hitherto embittered against the doctrines of Luther.

The first in the list of the protectors of Reform was a member of the royal house of France, who had been placed by marriage upon the ducal throne of Ferrara. The princess Renata had imbibed the principles of Luther, in the court of the king of Navarre ; and, upon her removal to Ferrara, she extended her patronage towards them with the spirit and zeal which marked her character. Those of her countrymen, whom the rigor or dread of religious persecution had driven from

France, were received and protected at her court. Clement Marot, distinguished both as a Protestant and a poet, was elevated to the rank of her private secretary. Many others were met with a judicious patronage, which, while it won their affections, and consoled them amid the sorrows of exile, secured them, at the same time, from the attacks of courtly jealousy or ecclesiastical persecution. Calvin, under an assumed name, passed several months at Ferrara, in free and confidential communication with the Duchess. The propagation of her favorite doctrines was rendered still more sure, by the introduction into the principal chairs of the University, of many who had secretly adopted or warmly favored them; and, while these contributed to the extension of their principles by their public lessons, the minds of the future rulers of Ferrara were prepared to view them with favor by the instructions of their private tutors. Ferrara was the school of Protestantism in Italy; and there was scarcely one of its distinguished partisans, who was not for a greater or less period, a sharer in the protection of Renata.

Nor was the success of the Reformation less rapid in the neighbouring city of Modena. It was not secured here, as in Ferrara, by the protection of a princess, but was owing, in a great measure, to the free discussions of a society of men distinguished for their attainments in science and literature. The study and interpretation of the Scriptures occupied every mind; and the teachers of the Reformed religion, venturing beyond the bounds which had restrained their brethren of Ferrara, united their auditors into regular assemblies, and enjoyed for a time the open exercise of their rights, with all the advantages of a free religious communion.

In a sketch like the present, it would be useless to trace the course of the reform from city to city, as it extended with various degrees of success through the different states of Italy. Subject to the influences of political and individual interest, encountering at times the firm opposition of sincere conviction, at others, the virulent attacks of selfish hatred, it moved in some places with the boldness of a successful revolutionist, in others, with the cautious secrecy of a determined but prudent reformer. In Bologna it embraced in its ranks many of the brightest names of the University, as well as some of the most distinguished citizens. A correspondence was warmly carried on with the Reformers of Germany; and, had the

struggle between the two sects broken out into open warfare, one of the new converts was prepared to defend his faith with the swords of six thousand men, raised and supported at his own expense. Among the early converts of Naples, we meet the names of Ochino, a monk of the austere order of Capuchins, and one of the most renowned preachers of his age ; of Mollio and Martire, who in the silence of the cloister had stored their minds with the profoundest erudition ; and of Valdes, who in the public capacity of viceroy to the kingdom, possessed the means of protecting those whom his arguments and persuasions had converted. And here we may remark, that if the alleged corruptions of the church were nowhere carried to so great an excess as within the walls of its convents, it was from the quiet repose of the same institutions that arose the noblest advocates of reform. Strange and mysterious contradiction ! that the source which had corrupted, should be the foremost to purify ; that the same soil which had produced the poison, should raise up the antidote by its side !

Of all the states of Italy, there was none from which the friends of reform might have so justly looked for encouragement and protection, as the republic of Venice. This wonderful nation, the course and principles of whose government differed so widely from those of every other, seldom allowed any consideration of regard for foreign powers to influence its domestic policy. Innumerable had been the artifices, unwearied the efforts of the Roman pontiffs, to extend their control over the state of Venice, as they had succeeded in doing throughout the rest of Europe. But the Venetian senate, with an equal share of constancy, and a boldness not diminished by any excess of superstition,* had from the earliest periods

* In fact, no government was less superstitious ; and the only question that could arise, would be whether it did not incline too evidently to the opposite extreme. Such, at least, was the opinion of some of the popes. The following anecdote was related to us by the great Italian historian of our age, and may serve in corroboration of the above statement. During one of the numerous contests between the Venetian Senate and the Holy See, the ambassador of the republic, in a private audience, so far excited the indignation of the Pope, that he at last broke through all bounds, and accused the Venetians of being nearly infidels. “ Voi altri signori Veneziani appena credete alla santissima Trinità,” gridò il pontefice. “ E le par poco, Santità ? ” was the reply of the ambassador. “ *You Venetians hardly believe in the Holy Trinity !* ” “ *And does your Holiness think that little ?* ”

of their history, met the efforts of the Roman court, with a firm and successful opposition. This long and varied struggle was carried on with greater or less animosity, in proportion to the concurrent action of other causes ; but never so far subsided, as to give room for a durable union, or a communication, free from suspicion and jealousy. When, therefore, the Protestant reform first began to attract the attention of the Italians, it was to the Venetians that the eyes of all the friends of religious freedom were directed, and the motives of that cautious and independent government were observed with an interest proportioned to the importance of the question which was at stake. The works of the Reformers formed a fruitful source of gain for the booksellers of the republic, and her presses were employed in multiplying the copies of the Scriptures, which were considered by all parties as the principal support of the Protestant cause. The doctrines of Germany and Switzerland soon began to spread among the Venetians. In the course of a few months, the capital contained an extensive society of learned men, who openly avowed the principles of Luther. The effect of their influence and example was soon felt in other parts of the same dominions. Every day gave new strength to the party. From individual profession, they gradually advanced to public unions ; and their cause was supposed to have excited more than usual interest in the senate. Nor in fact, could the important political advantages, that might have been secured by means of a religious reform, have escaped the observation of men, trained by long practice to consider every thing with a view to the aggrandizement or additional security of their possessions. But little seems to have been wanting, in order to throw into the Protestant scale the powerful political interest of Venice ; that interest, before which every other consideration was made to bend. So confident of success were the Protestants of Germany, that Melancthon addressed a letter to the senate, in which he congratulated them upon what they had done, and urged them to further action. But the unsettled state of her relations with the court of Constantinople, rendered the favor of Rome essential to the safety of Venice ; and the adherence of this mighty power to the Catholic religion may be attributed, in some measure, to the greatest enemy of that faith.

The change, which might have been naturally expected from the government of Venice, was nearly upon the point of

being accomplished in Lucca, by the daring and enthusiasm of a single individual. The Reformation which had taken such strong hold in different sections of Italy, had nowhere found a more ready welcome than among the citizens of Lucca. Extending there, with the same rapid progress which we have already observed in Venice, and Naples, and Ferrara, its principles were soon embraced by a considerable portion of the most respectable among the inhabitants. Political motives united their influence with the love of religious liberty ; and Lucca was upon the point of becoming the theatre of one of the greatest revolutions, that ever changed the face of a state.

Among the citizens whom the free principles of this government had elevated to a rank apparently inconsistent with the humble profession which he exercised, was Francis Burlamaqui, an artisan of the middle class. Endowed by nature with a studious and reflective cast of mind, this man had constantly united with the necessary labors of his trade, the study of ancient history, and particularly of those portions, in which the exertions of private individuals, in favor of their native cities, have been embellished by the eloquence of the great historians of Greece and Rome. From a constant meditation of these enticing examples, the humble artisan of Lucca was led to seek, for his own name, a renown like theirs ; and the situation which he then held, of Gonfaloniere, or chief magistrate of the republic, seemed to give new facilities for the accomplishment of his views. But Burlamaqui united with the warm imagination of a reformer, the coolness of judgment and political sagacity, essential to the success of reform. And while his patriotism was kindled by the prospect of restoring Tuscany to her ancient grandeur, he grounded his hopes of success upon the political situation of Italy and of Europe. Florence, not yet formed to the yoke of an artful and ambitious tyrant, was fondly, although secretly, cherishing the remembrance of her lately lost freedom. Pisa, desolated by war, deprived of commerce, her once fertile fields vanishing beneath the accumulating masses of stagnant water, her municipal pride and glorious recollections lost in the degrading consciousness of an odious dependence ; Siena, torn by divisions, and ready to fall a prey to the same insatiable ambition ; Perugia, Bologna, every portion of Italy, hesitating between the desire of freedom and the dread of increasing the yoke that already weighed too heavily ; these were the circumstances,

in the situation of his own country, which nourished the hopes and inflamed the zeal of Burlamaqui. Nor was the prospect less encouraging, when considered from another point of view. The Emperor, whose activity was the most to be apprehended, was engaged in the war against the Protestants of Germany, in support of which he had drawn away from Italy the greater part of his own troops, together with those of his allies, the Pope and Cosimo of Tuscany. Thus the defence of all the important posts in the country was intrusted to the hands of a few soldiers, and those none of the best, while the great distance of the papal and ducal armies from the points which were first to be attacked, rendered it impossible for them to be recalled, in time to prevent the effects of a sudden assault on the part of the conspirators. The progress of the Emperor, moreover, in his German war, was not calculated to inspire his adherents with very ardent hopes of a successful issue ; while, on the contrary, the firm resistance and rapid movements of the Protestants had filled the minds of their partisans with the most cheering confidence. But one of the most encouraging circumstances in the political aspect of the moment, was the deep-rooted hostility, that subsisted between the Emperor and the French, and which led them to embrace every species of alliance, and resort to all kinds of expedients, in order to gratify their mutual animosity.

In order, however, to unite the feelings of those whom he wished to liberate, it was necessary to raise a new standard, as well for religion as for their political state. This was supplied by the progress of the Lutheran Reformation, and the favor with which the advocates of religious freedom were viewed in Italy. Thus the revival of the old Etruscan league, and the introduction of the Protestant religion, or, in other words, the full establishment of religious and political liberty, was the vision that constantly floated before the mind of the enthusiastic Lucchese.

The plan which he had conceived with so much boldness, he prepared for execution with cool and cautious judgment. By habitually making the original felicity of Tuscany the topic of his conversation, he familiarized the minds of the friends, whom he designed to employ, with the subject of his desires, and prepared the way for a more direct and explicit avowal of his plans. His first confidant was a member of his own family, whose faith and zeal he had fully tested. The number of

the conspirators was gradually enlarged with all the precautions which so dangerous an undertaking required, and soon comprised the principal refugees of Florence and Siena, and other states, together with the wealthy and daring Strozzi, who were to bring with them the favor and aid of France. Already confident in his numbers, Burlamaqui urged to immediate action; and had not his wishes been overruled by the authority of the Strozzi, so well arranged were all the plans of the conspiracy, and so well timed the moment for its breaking out, that its success would in all probability have been complete. Compelled by his companions to delay, he still continued to strengthen his party by new accessions, chiefly made among the exiles, when an unfortunate communication of one of his companions defeated all the labors of his prudence, and consigned him to the hands of the executioner.

The desire to comprise in one sketch the principal events, which distinguished the rise of the Protestant religion in Italy, has led us a few years in advance of the first efforts of the Roman court for the suppression of it. Notwithstanding the severe shock which the papal power had received from the arms of Bourbon, the attachment of the Emperor to the religion in which he had been educated, or, as seems more probable, the close connexion between his political interests and those of the Roman See, had bound him by a tie of which he always acknowledged the force, to exert all his power for the preservation of Catholicism. And thus, although in the course of his subsequent operations, great and dangerous disputes frequently arose between him and the popes, and he was more than once induced to threaten an open rupture, yet the preservation of the Catholic religion always continued to form a favorite point of his policy, and was pursued even at the hazard of important parts of his dominions. Had the same unity of motive prevailed in the minds of the pontiffs, who, during his long reign, were successively called to the papal throne, the progress of the reform in Italy would have been checked at a much earlier period of its course. But the disadvantages inherent in the union of spiritual with temporal power, were never more apparent than during the period which we are considering. The exertions which should have been solely directed to one object, were enfeebled by a division of interests. Of one kind were the views of the temporal, of another those of the spiritual ruler. The attention of the pontiff was con-

stantly divided between schemes for the aggrandizement of the papal supremacy, and others, no less warmly pursued, for the extension of the dominions of the church. Thus while, urged on the one hand by his pastoral duties, he courted the favor of a particular sovereign, he was on the other, as a temporal prince, often constrained to oppose the same monarch by skilful negotiations, and sometimes even by open war. If to these we add the further embarrassments of family ambition, and the disputes and wars which were frequently excited for, or by, the pope's relations, we shall be convinced, that, if Rome surpassed all other courts in the refinement of her policy, nothing short of that perfection could have held together the conflicting elements which composed her power.

There were two periods in the struggle between the Protestant and Catholic religion, in which the friends of a peaceful union were cheered with the prospect of a termination of the great question of reform, by mutual concessions of the contending parties. The first was upon the elevation of Adrian to the chair, made vacant by the death of Leo X. ; the second, at the accession of Marcellus II. But the opposition which the first of these sincere and pious men encountered among the members of his court, and the premature death of the other, effectually closed the door against all reconciliation, by placing upon the throne a series of pontiffs, who cared less for the interests of religion, than for the enlargement of their temporal dominions. So strongly in fact, were they attached to the latter, that the repeated reclamations of several zealous Catholics upon the rapid extension of the Protestant opinions, were received with a degree of coldness, which it is difficult to account for, in a power so jealous of its prerogative. But when these reports began to thicken and assume the tone of warning and remonstrance, Rome was at length aroused from its lethargy, and began to seek out the most efficient means of defence. The remedy was the more terrible for having been so long delayed.

The Inquisition, that terrific tribunal, whose movements neither power nor pity could affect, which was blinded by ambition to the real interests of its order, and hardened by fanaticism against the voice of compassion, was the first object towards which the court of Rome directed its attention, in the hope of reëstablishing its shattered authority. The success which had attended the operations of this institution in Spain,

and the dread which it everywhere inspired, increased the ardor with which its erection was called for by those, who believed all means holy which were employed for the preservation of the Catholic religion. But the same circumstances which contributed to strengthen its power, increased the difficulties which attended its erection. The opposition arose not from the people alone, but in many instances from their rulers also, who looked upon the Inquisition rather as an instrument for the confirmation of the Roman prerogative, than as a useful means of preserving the Roman dogma.

In Rome itself, where the spiritual and temporal power were united, the establishment of the "Holy Office" was comparatively easy. But the frightful tumults and wild excesses which followed the death of Paul IV., its warmest advocate, are sufficient to show in what light it was viewed by the immediate subjects of the church. In Venice, its action was generally more or less subject to the control of the civil authority, and it was rarely left free to follow its own relentless course. But in Naples, the authority of the Emperor, although supported by the cool barbarity of his viceroy, and the strong arm of a powerful garrison, was nearly overthrown, by the simple proposal for its establishment. And even when the Neapolitans, abandoned by all those to whom they had looked for succor, and intimidated by the near approach of an overwhelming force, were constrained to submit to the will of their sovereign, so strong had been the expression of popular feeling, that the Emperor gladly renounced all thoughts of the odious tribunal.

But the dread, which was so justly entertained of the Roman court, was founded rather upon its profound artifice, than its real power; and the designs, which it was apparently compelled to abandon, were often no less successful than those which it openly pursued. Neither the fears of the people, nor the jealousy of government, availed to prevent the erection of the Inquisition. In some of the minor states, it was received from respect to the papal power. Others were led to accept its jurisdiction, by means of advantageous offers or judicious flattery. While they who viewed it with most abhorrence, were induced to submit to its control, by the artful distinction which was made between the Inquisition of Italy, and that of Spain. Rome was alike triumphant over prejudice and power, over the people and their rulers.

The consequences of this triumph were soon apparent throughout every portion of Italy. Neither wealth, nor rank, the privileges of republics, nor the favor of kings, were a safeguard against the arms of the Inquisition. The timid convert who confined his belief to the privacy of his own bosom, and the enthusiastic proselyte who boldly courted the crown of martyrdom, were equally exposed to accusation and trial. The cassock and the cowl were no longer a protection; monks were drawn forth from the secrecy of their cloisters, the learned from the seclusion of their studies; the sanctity of domestic life was violated, and even the throne itself only served to mitigate the punishment of its suspected occupants. Suspicion and fear usurped the place of that free communication which constitutes the chief charm of society; each unguarded expression gave rise to accusation; and private enmity often sought its vengeance under the cloak of religious zeal. A deep and voiceless terror pervaded the whole of Italy.*

Nor was it an empty dread of some indefinite evil. Ochino was compelled to fly for life, and take refuge in Geneva; Martire to abandon the church which he had so fondly planted in Lucca. Carnesecchi, the confidant and friend of princes, was sent from the table of Cosimo, to the stake prepared for him by Paul IV. One by one the Protestant leaders were subjected to the attacks of the Inquisition; and happy were they, who, by prompt and painful flight, were able to exchange the sweets of home, and the security of independent fortunes, for a foreign land, and the bitter bread of a stranger's compassion. The racks and dungeons of the Inquisition were soon found insufficient to satisfy the rage of persecution. The flames of the stake were again kindled in the same spots, where, but a little more than a thousand years before, the foundations of the church had been laid amid the bones and ashes of its martyrs. At the same time the sword was laying waste those portions, which the slower arm of the Inquisitor could not reach.†

Happy were the subjects of Venice; for there, instead of the stake, and the robe of pitch, and the applause of an im-

* Botta, Lib. xii. p. 181.

† We would refer our readers, for a perfect description of one of the modes of torture, to the eloquent story in "*Outre Mer*," entitled the "*Baptism of Fire*."

placable multitude, the depths of the Adriatic and the silence of midnight, were the means and the scene of martyrdom. Happy too were they, who, through the intercession of powerful friends, were kept back from the flames, until life had been destroyed by the cord or the sword of the executioner. And although we may shudder to think of those, who, in the flower of life, were brought out to die a death of torture in the presence of their fellow men, and in the pure light of day, happy too were they, when compared with the far greater proportion, whose fate is still concealed in the dark archives of the Inquisition.

We have already alluded to the Waldenses of Piedmont. Colonies from these secluded valleys had long been established in southern Italy ; and the fruits of their industry were everywhere to be seen, in the populous towns which they had founded, and the fertile fields which they had redeemed from the forests and marshes of Calabria. Devoted to agriculture, and industrious as much from habit as by necessity, their sober and secluded lives had never attracted much of the attention of their Catholic neighbours. Contented with the privilege of enjoying their own opinions, they cared not to inquire into those of others, and confined themselves to that quiet and unpretending mode of life, which is the only safeguard of those whose existence is rather tolerated than acknowledged. But when the fame of the religious revolution in Germany reached them, the sectarian pride which had so long lain dormant, was raised to a dangerous pitch. Calling to their assistance teachers from the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, they first reformed the abuses which had insensibly crept into their own worship, and then began to venture upon the dangerous task of reforming their Catholic neighbours. We are far from believing that, amid the general persecutions of Italy, they would have been suffered to escape, even if they had not abandoned the course which they had so long followed in safety. But it certainly could not be expected, that the Catholic party should view their efforts at proselytism without opposing them. Tremendous in fact was the persecution that ensued, and they who escaped the snares, and withstood the persuasions of their adversaries, were driven for shelter to the forests and mountains, where, hunted like beasts of prey, some fell by the sword, and others, less happy, perished by famine, in the desolate caverns that had given

them a last asylum. The greater portion being thus cut off, the few who had fallen alive into the hands of their enemies were reserved for every species of torture, perishing by the knife, at the stake, precipitated from the summits of lofty towers, or stifled by the foul air of damp and crowded dungeons.

Thus fell the Protestant religion in Italy. Its end was everywhere attended with the same horrors, and its history is but a repetition of racks, and dungeons, and stakes. Terrible period ! when the powers of the human mind seem to have acquired a greater developement, only in order to open a broader field of suffering ; and the convictions which should inspire sentiments of calm and beneficent philanthropy, served as stronger stimulants to ferocious persecution. Bitter, and even more humiliating than bitter, are the scenes that we have traced ; but bitterer still is the reflection, that the spirit which distinguished them is still alive, and that in our own, as in every other age, the persecuted but awaits a moment of success, to seize, for his own use, the arms of the persecutor. Happy are we, not that our passions are milder, but that our laws are better ; and that persecution, from being a moral, has become also a political crime.

- ART. X.— 1. *A Discourse on the Studies of the University*, by ADAM SEDGWICK, M. A., F. R. S., Woodwardian Professor and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Fourth Edition. Cambridge, 1835. 8vo. pp. 157.
2. *Alma Mater, or Seven Years at the University of Cambridge*. By a Trinity Man. London ; Black & Torry & Torry. 1827. Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 323 and 272.
3. *The Cambridge University Calendar for the year 1830*. Cambridge. 18mo. pp. 464.

THE spirit of English reform has not spared the two great Universities, the pride and glory of the United Kingdom. Their close connexion with church and state has naturally turned the sharpest scrutiny of Reformers and Radicals to their real or supposed abuses ; and many violent attacks have